

WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE.

THE

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Justice.

All hail the dawn of a New Day breaking,
When a strong armed nation shall take
away

The weary burden from backs that are aching
With maximum labour and minimum pay;
When no man is honoured who hoards his
millions,
When no man feasts on another's toil,
And God's poor suffering, starving millions
Shall share His riches of sun and soil.

There is gold for all in earth's broad bosom;
There is food for all in the land's great
store;

Enough is provided if rightly divided;
Let each man take what he needs—no more.
Shame on the miser with unseen riches,
Who robs the toiler to swell his hoard;
Who beats down the wage of the digger of
ditches,
And steals the bread from the poor man's
board.

Shame on the owners of mines whose cruel
And selfish measures have brought him
wreath.

While the ragged wretches who dig his fuel
Are robbed of comfort and hope and health,
Shame on the ruler who rides in his carriage,
Bought with the labor of half paid men;
Men who are shut out of home and marriage
And are herded like sheep in a hovel pen.

Let the clarion voice of the nation wake him
To broader vision and fairer play,
Or let the hand of a just law shake him,
Till his ill-gained dollars shall roll away,
Let no man dwell under a mountain of plun-
der.

Let no man suffer with want and cold;
We want right living, not mere alms-giving.
We want just dividing of labor and gold.
—ELLA WHEELER WILCOX.

Oh, Slaves of Toil!

(Air—"O, For the Swords," Irish Melodies).

By JAMES CONNOLLY.

When Man shall stand erect at last,
And drink at Wisdom's fountain,
He to the earth in scorn shall cast,
The chains his limbs are bound in,
Then from his loins a race shall spring,
Fit peer of gods and heroes,
O, blest be they whose efforts bring
That day an hour more near us.

Chorus—

O, slaves of toil, no craven fear,
Or dread of fell disasters,
Need daunt ye now; then up and clear
The earth of lords and masters.

Like brazen serpent raised on high
In Israelite tradition,
Our Cause to each believing eye
Brings health and serf-like vision,
We see the Day when Man shall rise,
And, firm on science building,
From Theft's thick mast of fraud and lies,
Strip all the specious gilding.

Chorus—

O, blest are they whom wind and tide
Are wafting Fortune's graces,
And blest the man whose blushing bride
Returns his rapt embraces,
And blest is he who has a friend
To shield his name when slandered,
Blest over all they who contend,
And march in Freedom's Vanguard.

Chorus—

O, slaves of toil, no craven fear,
Or dread of fell disasters,
Need daunt ye now; then up and clear
The earth of lords and masters.

—Written for the "Weekly People," and
published in issue of June 27th, 1903.

HERE AND THERE.

ODE ON HEARING THE DRUM.

I HATE that drum's discordant sound,
Parading round, and round, and round;
To thoughtless youth, its pleasure yields,
And lures from cities and from fields,
To sell their liberty for charms
Of tawdry, lace and glittering arms,
And when Ambition's voice commands,
To march, and fight, and fall in foreign
lands.

I HATE that drum's discordant sound
Parading round, and round, and round;
To me it talks of ravaged plains,
And burning towns, and ruined swains,
And mangled limbs, and dying groans,
And widows' tears and orphans' moans;
And all that Misery's hand bestows
To fill the catalogue of human woes.

J. Scott.

About the lowest political dingo in
Australia to-day is David Hall, Attorney-
General for N.S.W. Although he pos-
sesses the personality of a hen, Davy is
yet the greatest political schemer and
wire-puller this side of Cape York.

This despicable Labor rat had—with
his fellow Nationalists—pledged his sac-
red word that he would never advocate
Conscription again; in fact he and they,
to save their political skins, promised to
fight against any further proposal to in-
troduce Europe's curse. Needless to say,
he broke that pledge and now that the
result of the second Referendum is
known, this political shrimp has the gall
to launch a bitter attack on Hughes, and
asks the Federal Nationals to choose an-
other leader on whose pledges and prom-
ises the people may rely!

The same Hall, by the way, "is making
arrangements to leave for the United
States early in the year, and he will not
be present when Parliament resumes."

Instead of jaunting round, what's
wrong with Hall's staying on the job, he
is supposed to be filling? Haven't cables
and long-distance wires been in existence
some years?

Before he goes, Davy might perhaps
read us a lecture on Industrial Efficiency!

Hughes—Empire Savior Hughes—has
served his purpose. He is no longer an
asset to the Monied Gang—no longer an
asset, because he sways few votes. Hated
by the Labor crowd he sold, despised by
the capitalist speaking-tubes, with whom
he sits, he is no longer useful, and will
shortly be treated like the other worn-
out boxing gloves of the capitalist class,
at present operating lifts, peddling music
and selling "Dinkum" lollies on Syd-
ney's streets.

Keep your ears open for the other Em-
pire Saviour—Smuts, of South Africa.
The sound of his overboard-splash is
about due.

It is amusing to read the cables con-
cerning the Russian situation. One would
naturally think that the discussions be-
tween the Germans and Russians would
deal, firstly, with the truce, then with
the armistice, and finally with the peace
terms. Though the armistice has just
been just fixed up we have read for the
past month, the exact wording—different
in each issue—of the Germans' "crush-
ing terms."

"The wish is father to the thought."

General Sir Edmund Allenby, the Brit-
ish commander in Palestine, has captured
Jerusalem. The frightful importance of
this has seemingly not yet been realised.

Even the divines have missed its sig-
nificance.

We (who have remained in Australia)

QUESTIONS ANSWERED.

On Individualism.

"We propose to work together. In all
else we propose to be as separate and in-
dividual as possible."

Confiscation.

"Confiscation means to TAKE UN-
DER EXISTING LAWS. A revolution
takes its own laws, its own equity with
it. We hold that all this property (the
industries) belongs to the people who
produced it. No capitalist produced it.
Benjamin Franklin said very truly that
property is the creature of society."

"The revolutionary forefathers of this
Republic did not confiscate the posses-
sions of George III. They took them un-
der the rule of their own right. The
feudal system did not confiscate the prop-
erty of the system that preceded it. It
took it. So the delegates elected by the
miners, bootmakers, hatters, builders,
railwaymen, and all other producers will
simply take for the people what the
people have produced."

Incentive.

(Answer to a question: "With the pres-
ent incentive to effort which great in-
dividual wealth offers, how can you hope
to have great organisers like Morgan for
instance?")

"We shall have Morgans and Roek-
fellers of a higher type, men who will
compete in thought rather than in wealth.
The Morgans and Rockefeller of to-day
are creatures of present conditions, like
the antediluvian monsters who walked
and swam and flew. Like these monsters
they will disappear with the conditions
that made them."

Daniel de Leon.

know that the Allies are fighting—among
other things—"for the rights and free-
dom of small nations."

Naturally then, we will shortly hear
that Palestine has been restored to the
Jews—the race which has no country,
and yet owns all countries.

Think of the flight of capital as the
scattered Children of Judah, carrying
coal mines, State-owned railways, steel
works, oil wells, boot-factories and news-
paper offices, hurry homeward.

Give over your dreams of the Industrial
Republic—the Industrial Republic of
Labour—due this century.

What boots it that the class struggle is
becoming clearer and clearer every day?
What does it matter that the middle class
is being rapidly forced by the huge ag-
gregations of capital into the ranks of
the workers? What boots it that the
present war is cracking the shell of cap-
italism? What does it matter that eco-
nomic development is forcing the work-
ers to organise on the lines of Industrial
Unionism (as against the present craft
system of organisation) which Industrial
Unions, knit into One Great Union, must
if the working class is to survive, take
over the machinery of production, there-
by becoming the constituencies for the
Industrial Parliament of the future.

What, we say, matters all these facts?
Our hopes, after all, are but idle dreams
BECAUSE General Sir Edmund Allenby,
the British Commander, has taken Jeru-
salem: because the Jews will shortly re-
turn to Palestine, and this return, ac-
cording to Biblical prophecy, immedi-
ately precedes the end of the world!

Give over your dreams. The world is
due to go up in smoke, and Destruction
lurketh around the corner!!

V. CRAIG,

115 Goulburn St., Sydney.

Every new subscriber you get for "The
International Socialist" is a blow struck at
Capitalism.

Lessons in Economics.

An Easy One.

By R.E.C.

Grasp this fundamental: If I own the
tool which you must use in order to get
bread to eat, I own you—and your wife
and children.

That you may be free you must own
the tool of your trade.

That ought to be plain to a ten-year-
old child.

And that is the condition to-day. Bear-
ing in mind that the "tool" may be a
mallet, engine, a trolley car, or a linotype
machine, or even an entire factory.

When you apply for and get a job the
transaction usually runs something like
this: You may come to work in the
morning. I will pay you fifty bob a
week.

What really happens is this: I own the
tool which you must use. I will give you
permission to use that tool, with the dis-
tinct understanding that the ownership
remains with me. For the use of that
tool I shall take from you four-fifths of
what you produce with it.

When you are discharged the transac-
tion usually runs like this: You are fired!

What really happens is this: I will
take from you the tool of your trade; the
tool that you must use. I do not dis-
charge you. I recall the tool and remind
you of the fact that ownership of that
tool rested with me all the time you were
using it.

Now what must you do to be free? You
must OWN THAT TOOL!

But how are you going to take the tool
from me? If you undertake to use force
you will find yourself up against the
identical proposition that Lincoln was in
1860, when he used force to take from
the Southern planter his TOOL OF PRO-
DUCTION—the chattel slave.

The first thing you have to do is to re-
solve yourself into a class. Understand
that all those who own nothing but their
labor power belong to one class—the pro-
letaire—the working class.

Those opposing them belong to another
class—capitalism.

Between the two classes there can be
nothing but struggle for possession of
the tool of production. This struggle is
called the class struggle. It must be
carried on by the use of the highest or-
der of intelligence and organisation.

What kind of organisation? Being a
working class movement, a movement to
free labor, it can be organised only where
it will reach labor—it must be organised
in the field, mine, factory, and on the
great lines of transportation.

In short, the industries. The workers
in the industries must be organised, edu-
cated and drilled; educated up to the re-
cognition of their class interests, their
class distinction; drilled to the use of the
tool of their trade.

Then in order to remain within the pale
of civilised methods—to keep out lawless-
ness and remain within their rights as
civilised humans, they must use the
political ballot to give expression to their
economic demands. When they, the
workers, shall have become victorious at
the polls, it is pre-supposed they are or-
ganised, educated and drilled on their
jobs—where they work—where they earn
their bread.

Then there will be no war; there will
be no Paris Commune.

The class conscious, awakened workers
shall say to their masters: "Stand aside!
We will run the machinery of society for
the benefit of society. Not for the bene-
fit of a few commercial bushrangers and
their parasitic families!"

Then labor shall be free. Then the
world shall be free!

And that's what Marx meant when he
said: "Workers of all countries, unite!
You have nothing to lose but your chains
and a world to gain!"

—"Weekly People," N.Y.

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The Need for Conscription

MASTER CLASS PREPAREDNESS.

Our Class Antidote.

The anxiety of the master class, to shackle the working class of Australia with conscription, has its explanation in the economic conditions that have arisen during the war. Their action springs from a necessity. What then is this necessity? Will the securing of a large majority for NO do away with this necessity; that is, the cause of the attempt to intensify our slavery? These are questions that are seldom asked, but much depends upon the answer.

The fact that the present war was brought about by the economic development of the several nations competing for the world's markets; or, as it is more commonly put, "It is a commercial war," is generally admitted. In other words, the main bone of contention is foreign markets, in which to dump the surplus commodities robbed from the working class. This fact is made clear by the opinion expressed by those in authority to the effect that, "If Germany had been allowed to go on for another decade without this war breaking out, she would have gained absolute economic supremacy by peaceful means."

When looked at from this standpoint, the war becomes absolutely necessary for the safeguarding of the economic interests of the British Empire. England, having been looked upon as the workshop of the world, was gradually, but nevertheless surely, being displaced by Germany.

Under such conditions war breaks out, and a hundred and one reasons are given for disturbing the so-called peace of the world. The correct reason for the outbreak, the fact that one section of the master class under the guise of a nation having failed to out do another section in the fight for international trade decided to give over "free competition" and use brute force—that reason is kept in the background as much as possible.

The war being the effect of economic development now in turn becomes a cause. The carrying on of the war made it necessary that millions of workers be taken from productive work, to function, not only in a non-productive manner, but in a destructive manner. Along with this drainage of the productive forces of the several countries engaged in the war, numerous parasitical institutions which are made necessary by war sprang into existence. When we add to these the fact that many of those still employed in a productive manner, are producing commodities to be destroyed, we realise the great demands that must be made upon the working class in order that the commodities necessary for the maintenance of the non-producers be produced.

In normal times the Governments have been forced to add the National debts in order that they may carry on. In war time they are faced with the problem of maintaining a huge army of non-producers, the expense of all the newly created parasitical institutions; this cannot be

The discussion started in the dinner hour on the shortcomings of the Labor Party. All were agreed that the Labor Party had no constructive programme, and as an Australian Socialist Party man said, "simply peddled vote-catching palliatives, which when analysed were found to have no more effect than a plaster on a wooden leg."

"What is needed," said the Industrialist, "is for the workers to organise into industrial unions to take and hold the industries and run them for the benefit of all wealth producers. Not till then," he added, "will poverty, crime, militarism, and war be abolished; and, what's more, this is the only way to get Freedom."

"What we want," chimed in a member of the Victorian Socialist Party, "is a strong Socialist Government."

"Well, how are you going to get it?"

"By electing Socialists to Parliament," he answered.

"That pre-supposes that the workers are organised into industrial unions, so that the industrial organised workers can throw an intelligent vote that will reflect politically their industrial aims," said the Industrialist.

"There's nothing to stop us electing Socialists to Parliament now."

"Oh! Well, why don't you elect them?"

"Because the workers don't understand Socialism."

"Right," answered the Industrialist.

"And why don't the workers understand Socialism? It is because they do not understand their class interests. It is because they are organised into craft union, constituted on the supposed identity of interests between capital and labor, with a slogan of 'a fair day's work for a fair day's wage' and 'defence, not defiance.' Once get them to understand that the employing class and the working class have nothing in common; once get them organised on the basis of indus-

done on their normal revenue.

As a solution of the problem, they have continuously gone to the financial magnates for loans. The National debts have in some cases more than doubled. All the loan money bears a heavier rate of interest than in normal times. This can only have one result; the hitherto over-taxed revenue of the Governments cannot meet their obligations; they endeavour to do so by further loans, and the present position arises in which they borrow money, a portion of which goes to pay back interest upon the money previously borrowed.

This policy soon comes to an end, as the financiers will only advance money to those Governments who can guarantee conditions that will be conducive to the welfare of their capital. In other words, the Governments in dealing with the money bugs of the world, are in the same position as the individual who goes to a pawnshop to raise the wind—the money bugs, like the pawnbroker, determine the conditions upon which the money will be lent.

The conditions that are acceptable to the financial interests are such as to ensure the payment of interest; which in turn means that the resources of the country are equal to the burden and the peaceful exploitation of the workers guaranteed. Do these conditions obtain to-day? Certainly not.

Prior to the war, the method of organising the workers for exploitation was quite adequate to the demands; the intensification of exploitation was more gradual, seeing that the growth of parasitical institutions was slower. This allowed the employing class to meet the demands made upon the surplus value produced (the commodities robbed from the working class) by a slight intensification of the said robbery, which at the same time allowed them what was considered a fair rate of profit.

To-day things are different. Owing to the sudden growth of the demand, the controlling class in society are forced to look for some means of enabling them to HONOR their financial obligations. It is impossible for them to agree to declare status quo ante bellum (same state as be-

Stray Talks.

try instead of crafts—into unions constituted on the recognition of the class struggle and the irreconcilable conflict between the employing class and wage workers, and you will then get a class conscious vote on election day."

"But surely you don't mean to start an opposition union to the Trades Hall?" asked the V.S.P. man.

"We intend to organise the workers into One Great Industrial Union to replace the seven hundred and odd craft unions. This union will educate the workers on their class position. Let me just read you an extract from the manifesto issued by the Workers' International Industrial Union, in which the position towards other Labor organisations is stated:—

"The W.I.I.U. holds that all labor organisations who do not subscribe to and follow in their action the principles of the class struggle, are capitalist unions, though their members are workers. While these bodies may have had a justification in the past, due to social ignorance, craft division and small production, they have no longer; they are to-day a hindrance to progress. They must discard their wrong principles and false tactics and reorganise on the modern educational class basis. During this period of reconstruction the W.I.I.U. will support any bona fide move made by workers in such organisations to improve their condition, but expects in turn that such bodies stop their practices of obstruction towards the growth of the Workers' International Industrial Union."

"I don't think we ought to start another union," urged the V.S.P. man, "the Trades Hall is working out a scheme to federate all the unions, and then we will have one big union."

"More like one big union," just strong enough to make us weep," retorted the Industrialist. "The craft unions are rotten to the core. They are wrongly organised, wrongly constituted, and no loose federation of existing unions can in

fore the war). There is only one way out, and that is for them to intensify the robbery of the working class in order that surplus value may be increased, out of which to meet the demands—rent, interest and profit. They must fight to do this, for to fail means the downfall of the whole structure of international finance.

When we take into consideration the above facts, Conscription must be looked upon as one card, and not the whole hand of the master class. It is a card which, if they had been allowed to play, would have made it much easier for them to increase the rate of robbery of our class, but the fact of turning it down does not do away with the necessity operating behind those in authority; that is still there, and although they have failed to get conscription, they must by some means meet the demands made; they must carry on to success their scheme of master class preparedness or sound their own death-knell.

When the prevailing conditions are analysed, one cannot congratulate the ruling class upon their position. They, like "Frankenstein," have created a monster, in the shape of an all devouring war, and it, like "Frankenstein's" monster, is demanding a wife in form of a large increase in surplus value, and threatening them with extinction should they fail. Their success or failure depends upon the attitude of our class.

There is an antidote for master class preparedness, and that is WORKING CLASS PREPAREDNESS. Let our class prepare for the struggle; let us organise on sound revolutionary industrial lines; let us not drop our efforts now that we have secured a big No vote; let us organise, not only to defeat the attempts of the master class to further enslave us, but to put an end to our slavery for all times. Then, when we are so organised and understand the principles underlying an organisation of that nature (the principles upon which the Workers' International Industrial Union is built upon) we will be able to wait patiently for the future moves of our oppressors, and when the time does come, just fold our arms and LAUGH.

RAY EVERITT,
115 Goulburn St., Sydney.

any way meet the needs of the working class. These federation schemes are put forward by the fakirs and paid officials in the craft unions, who are afraid of losing their jobs. They are parasites on the back of Labor, and put forth these schemes to sidetrack the growing demand of the rank and file for a better form of organisation. These schemes are a red herring to mislead the workers, and keep the paid officials secure for a few years longer in their snug billets. These men have almost emancipated themselves, and have not the emancipation of the working class at heart."

"They are not all as bad as that," chimed in several of the workmates gathered round interested in the discussion; "these chaps know more than we do."

"Correct! 'These chaps' do know more than you do, and they have profited by it. You have had Hughes, Fisher, Spence and others, and where are they to-day? It is about time that you knew as much as 'these chaps.' Look ye here," said the Industrialist, warning up, "if the workers are to fight their way to victory, it will be by their united strength. We must develop more self reliance. We must cease to put our faith in leaders. If one Moses can lead us out of the wilderness, another Moses can lead us back again. It is because we have had faith in our leaders in the past that we have gone to sleep, and our paid craft union officials will do no more than the militant rank and file force them to do."

"The workers must wake up. The emancipation of the working class must be the class conscious act of the working class! There must be a reorganisation of the workers."

"Workers! You must close up your ranks. Who is not for you, is against you. The menials and scabs among you must be put in their place. Those craft unions which consistently seab against the interests of the working class movement must be expelled from the Labor movement, and the workers in such organisations who recognise their class position must come into class conscious working class unions."

"Away with false leaders! Away with false tactics! Let us put all these pseudo Socialist organisations like the Victorian Socialist Party at their true valuation."

"But don't you believe in workers of the world unite?" asked the V.S.P. man.

"Of course I do," answered the Industrialist, "but not in uniting on such parrot cries and false tactics as put forth by the Labor Party, which is not a working class party, nor is it of labor. You believe Socialism will achieve the social ownership and control of industry, don't you?"

"Yes, that's why I'm in the V.S.P."

"Then why do you and your party support the Labor Party?"

"Well, the workers don't understand Socialism, and while we are educating them, it is better for the working class to have a Labor Government than a Liberal Government."

"So instead of going straight for what you want, you put up with a miserable fake—not even a decent makeshift! Do you think the War Precautions Act and the Illegal Associations Act were passed in the interests of the working class? Do you think that a national spirit as fostered by the Labor Party will bring us nearer international peace?" demanded the Industrialist.

"No," answered the V.S.P. man.

"Yet the Labor Party supported, spoke in favour, and voted for these measures."

"Well, they did not know to what use these acts would be put."

"I do not believe that," answered the Industrialist, "but, even if it were so, they should never have voted for something they did not understand. Ignorance is no defence. The workers did not send them to Parliament because of their ignorance. They were sent there in the working class interests. If they do not know what is not in the working class interests, they are incompetents and fools. If they do know, and in the light of their knowledge voted in favour of these acts, then they are scoundrels and traitors to the working class. And," he continued, "the pseudo Socialists of the V.S.P. are as bad for misleading the working class."

THE STUDENT.

(To be Continued.)

The Referendum.

UNDERLYING MOTIVES.

The following article is reprinted from last issue, owing to the fact that in that issue portion of the type was so mixed that it was made altogether unreadable.

All through this conscription campaign this paper has endeavored to point out that conscription is not so much a military question, as an economic or industrial question.

The military position of the Allies NOW is not nearly so favourable as it was in October, 1916. Yet the same people and the same press which assured us THEN that 16,500 men per month were needed assures us that 7000 men will suffice NOW, when the position is far worse. Strange, my friend, strange, indeed!

We rivet our attention on the economic or industrial position, because we know that the present war arises from the economic state of society—from the fact that there are two great classes in society. One is the necessary working class, while the other is the capitalist class, an economically useless class, which owns the machinery of wealth production—the mills, mines and factories.

By virtue of their ownership of these—the avenues of employment for the wage workers—the capitalists thus own the workers, whose only asset is their commodity labour power, which commodity is bought and sold in the labour market, at a price fixed by the same economic laws, as the commodity meat, is priced in the meat market.

The price of this commodity of the working class, labour power, is called wages, and this is, on the average, equivalent to that fraction of the wealth produced which just keeps them on the subsistence-level. Just that sum as will purchase for them "necessary" food, clothing and shelter—just that sum spoken of by forty-pounds-a-week Arbitration Court Judges as a "living wage"—just that sum is their portion.

Therefrom arises this position: this economic fact:—

The workers in any particular country cannot buy back the total of the wealth they have produced. Consequently other markets—foreign markets—have to be found as the outlet for the flood of surplus commodities which the capitalist class must get rid of for profit purposes. Cutting out of these foreign markets means death to the capitalist competitor. Hence the trade competition between nations. Hence schemes and fights for trade advantages, "spheres of influence" (fine word!), coal iron, potash and petroleum districts, coastal strips, or outlets in the shape of ports. Hence wars—in which the exploited or robbed working classes are asked, or forced, to stop the hurrying bullet, the flying iron foundry, or the screaming shell.

The trade competition game was bitter before this war broke out, and it will be bitter still when the war ceases. "Trade After the War" is the popular theme of the capitalist class, its press and its political lackeys. "Production must be increased"; "Scientific Management"—the polite word for speeding up; "Dilution of Industries"—whereby the individual tradesman is robbed of the monetary benefits of his technical skill and craft; "the industries must be organised, as they are in England"—that is on the basis of WOMAN and CHILD labor; these are the cries of the conscriptionists—cries sheltered behind the veil of Patriotism.

For the Capitalist Class standing behind the newspapers, which mould the opinions of thousands of human echoes—for the Capitalist Class conscription means a harvest.

The conscription machine is undoubtedly the greatest union paralysor ever known.

In Great Britain to-day under conscription, military control obtains in industries. Unionism is dead, except in name. Chinese have been introduced in thousands. The industries are organised on the basis of WOMAN and CHILD labor on the good old CHEAP labor basis. In the munition factories Boyd Cable, the Australian author, tells us in "Doing Their Bit" that women work 87½ hours

Conscription and Cowardice

The overwhelming majority of votes recorded to date against the conscription proposals of the Federal Government is a favorable indication of what the result will be when the final figures are arrived at. The reticent attitude adopted by Hughes and his colleagues, coupled with the contemptible and cowardly attack made by members of the Nationalist Party upon the ability of the Prime Minister as a statesman and tactician, may be taken as an unofficial acknowledgment of the complete defeat of the conscription question.

It is worthy of note that, had the majority of the electors voted in favor of conscription the carping political critics who are at present engaged in the edifying task of abusing and disparaging Hughes generally, would have been most conspicuous by their lavish praise and appreciation of the able manner in which he conducted the campaign.

"He who is without sin, cast the first stone." Who are these censorious critics, Hall and Beethy? Have they such a clean political record that they can take up such a stiff-necked attitude towards Hughes now that his policy has been defeated? Both these political confidence men rose to their present height of prosperity upon the back of the working class, and having arrived at this position they sold the workers in a manner more ignominious than that by which Judas betrayed Christ.

Hall is making his material position secure by shortly procuring an appointment on the Bench Judge Hall! With this end in view, he recently fulfilled the necessary qualification of being a practical barrister by appearing in the Industrial Court for the Employers' Federation, and succeeded in having the wages of the lift drivers reduced.

The political career of Hall and Beethy is certainly a very brilliant one; within the short span of three years they have risen from the position of renegade "Labor" politicians to that of official muck-rakers of the Nationalist Party. Truly, the last position is one that is well worthy of their talent.

During the progress of the campaign public opinion quickly rose to fever heat, but as both factions are now cooling to a normal temperature (one, by the cooling effect of defeat, the other, by the cool confidence of victory), we are in a position to dispassionately dissect the motives underlying the "No" vote.

In the final analysis the position is this—95 per cent of the "No" votes were based upon illogical conclusions and personal cowardice.

The majority of people who voted "No" believe that the present war is a "just war." They firmly believe that they enjoy much wider liberty under the Union Jack than any other nation on the planet. They believe that should the Allies be defeated, they will be

per week—no Sunday holidays. Fine, eh? Especially when one remembers that recently it was admitted in the British House of Commons that their wages are in many cases 2½d and 3d per hour. Fine, eh? For the profit-mongers!

As the system of "clearances" is in vogue, no worker can leave a "controlled" factory unless he or she gets the permission of his or her employer even if offered higher wages elsewhere. Thus the unfortunate and helpless workers are reduced to the status of the old-time chattel slaves, at the beck and call of a military autocracy.

In France the effect is the same. According to M. Thomas (former Minister in the French Cabinet) "Trade Unionism is dead." The achievements of Unionism have been rendered null and void. Trade customs and rights have been diluted and whittled away—"unskilled" labour has taken the place of skilled—women have been installed in the place of men—children have taken the place of adults. And the wages? They're nearly as HIGH as those of their exploited English sisters! Lovely again for Plute!

And New Zealand. Unionism there, is like the "Thou shalt not kill" commandment of the code. It excites a derisive smile from the Capitalist class as it gazes on its ruins.

When the Seamen's Union there sought to secure conditions that would make life reasonably safe, the Government seized the general secretary and the assistant secretary, and flung them into gaol with

enslaved in a manner more deplorable than the manner in which the Belgian Government enslaved the natives of the Congo Free State.

If you believe in militarism under the present system, if you believe in the justness of the war, then, to be consistent, you must believe in, and support conscription.

Conscription is the logical outcome and crowning point of militarism.

Conscription is the most effective, economical and efficient method of organising a nation for the purpose of war.

The Labor Party take up a most illogical attitude in opposing conscription, as they have the honor of having first introduced conscription into Australia. Juvenile conscription embodied in the Defence Act is the work of the Labor Party (supported by Frank Anstey and many other prominent "Antis"); yet when this Defence Act is extended to include adult conscription, the Labor Party immediately take up their cudgels and mouth platitudes about slavery, and so on.

If you think that the cause of the Allies is a great cause; if you think that by winning the war the wage-slaves of the Allied countries will derive some material benefit; if you value this so-called British "Liberty" at such a high rate, then you brand yourself a cur, a coward, a thing to be despised, and decided if you will not willingly take up arms in defence of this cause, which you assert is such a noble one.

The only "Anti-Conscriptionist" who is consistently logical is the class-conscious anti-militarist.

Militarism (including conscription) is essential for the upkeep and perpetuation of the capitalist system.

Ostensibly, all wars are waged in the sacred cause of liberty, but in reality they have a very material basis—the present conflict is being waged for the express purpose of colonizing international trade and foreign markets in the form of colonial possessions, protectorates, etc.

As the work is robbed of the fruits of his labor in every capitalised country, as the worker enjoys a minimum amount of Liberty in every country, does it really matter under what piece of colored bunting this wholesale exploitation and curtailment of liberty takes place?

If you think it is a matter of grave importance that you should be robbed under some particular flag, then, in the name of common sense, be reasonable, take up a gun and give conscription your whole-hearted support. Do not hide your cowardice under the guise of anti-conscription.

W. J. THOMAS.

115 Goulburn Street.

sentences of three months. The same Government has under the War Regulations paid the Union Steamship Company nearly three million pounds for the hire of a few of its boats, although Sir Joseph Ward had said that the whole of the Union Company's fleet could be bought for a million and a half.

The Brisbane "Daily Telegraph" in its issue, Oct. 16, 1916, shows clearly why conscription threatens. In its leading article on that date it said, "There remains in our midst a powerful enemy called political trade unionism. The political trade unionist is a man to be dealt with both before the end of the war and after. Voting 'Yes' by a majority will be the deadliest blow ever dealt trade unionism." That is the motive behind the Prussians' scheme.

The imposition of conscription is for the capitalist class a barrier flung against the awakening workers, who, slowly beginning to focus their attention on the economic side of social questions and national wars, are beginning to ask themselves:—

"Who made the Law that Death should stalk the valleys?

Who spake the word to kill among the sheaves?

Who gave it forth that Death should lurk in hedge-rows?

Who flung the dead among the fallen leaves?

Who made the Law?

V. CRAIG,

115 Goulburn St., City.

Revolutionary Unionism

Speech Delivered by Eugene V. Debs at Chicago, November 25, 1905.

(CONTINUED FROM LAST ISSUE.)

Observe that you are displaced by the surplus product of your own labor; that what you produce is of more value under capitalism than you who produce it; that the commodity which is the result of your labor is of greater value under capitalism than your own life.

You consist of palpitating flesh; you have wants. You have necessities. You cannot satisfy them, and you suffer. But the product of your labor, the property of the capitalist, that is sacred; that must be protected at all hazards. After you have been displaced by the surplus product of your labor and you have been idle long enough, you become restive and you begin to speak out, and become a menace. The unrest culminates in trouble. The capitalist presses a button and the police are called into action. Then the capitalist presses button No. 2 and injunctions are issued by the judges, the judicial allies and servants of the capitalist class. Then button No. 3 is pressed and the state troops fall into line; and if this is not sufficient button No. 4 is pressed and the regular troops come marching to the scene. That is what President Roosevelt meant when he said that back of the mayor is the governor, back of the governor the President; or, to use his own words, back of the city the state, and back of the state the nation—the capitalist nation.

If you have been working in a steel mill and you have made more steel than your master can sell, and you are locked out and get hungry, and soldiers are called out, it is to protect the steel—to guard the men who made the steel and kill the men who made it.

I am not asking you to withdraw from the craft unions simply because the Industrial Workers has been formed. I am asking you to think about these matters for yourselves.

I belonged to a craft union from the time I was nineteen years of age. I can remember the very evening I first joined the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen. I can recall with what zeal I went to work to organize my craft, and it was the pride of my life to see that union expand. I did what I could to build it up. In time I was made to realize that that union was not sufficient unto itself. I next did what I could to organize other branches of the services and then establish a federation of the various unions of railroad employees, and finally succeeded; but soon after the federation was formed, on account of craft jealousies, it was disrupted. I then, along with a number of others who had had the same experience and had profited by it, undertook to organize the railway men within one organization, known as the American Railway Union. The railroad corporations were the deadly enemies of that organization. They understood that its purpose was to unify all the railroad employees. They knew that the unity of the working class meant their end, and so they set their faces like flint against the American Railway Union. And while they were using all their powers to crush and stamp out the American Railway Union, they were bestowing all their favors upon the several craft brotherhoods, the engineers and the firemen, the conductors and the brakemen. They knew that so long as these craft unions existed there could be no unification of the men employed in the railway service.

Are the railroad men of this country organized to-day? No! Not nearly one-half of them are organized at all. And when the railroad corporations from motives of good policy make a concession to the engineers or the conductors, it is gouged out of the poor devils who work for a dollar a day and are compelled to submit.

There are a great many engineers who are perfectly willing to be tied up in a contract. They think they can save themselves at the expense of their fellow-workers. But they are going to reap, sooner or later, just what they have sown. In the next few years they will become motor-men.

While we are upon this question, let us consult industrial history a moment. We will begin with the craft union strike of 1888. The Brotherhood of Engineers and the Brotherhood of Firemen on the

Continued on Page 4.

Revolutionary Unionism

Continued from Page 3.

Speech Delivered by Eugene V. Debs at C. B. Good & Co. strike. Some 2000 engineers and firemen vacated their posts and went out on one of the most bitterly contested railroad strikes in the history of the country. When they went out, the rest of the employees, especially the conductors, who were organised in craft unions of their own, remained at their posts, and the union conductors piloted the scab engineers over the line. I know whereof I speak. I was there. I took active part in that strike.

I saw craft union pitted against craft union, and I saw the Brotherhood of Engineers and the Brotherhood of Firemen completely wiped from the C. B. and Q. system. And now you find these men, seventeen years later, scattered all over the United States. They had to pay the penalty of their ignorance in organising a craft instead of organising the whole.

In 1892 a strike occurred on the Lehigh Valley; the same result. Another on the Toledo, Ann Arbor and North Michigan. Same result. The engineers have had no strike from that time to this. Every time they have had a strike they have been defeated.

The railroad corporations are shrewd enough to recognise the fact that if they can keep certain departments in their employ in a time of emergency they can defeat all of the rest. A manager of a railroad who can keep control of 15 per cent. of the old men can allow 85 per cent. to go out on strike and defeat them every time. That is why they have made some concessions to the engineers and conductors and brakemen, and now and then to the switchmen, the most militant labor union of them all.

A year and a half ago the telegraph operators on the Missouri, Kansas and Texas went out on strike. The engineer remained at his post; so did the fireman; the conductor at his; and the brakeman at his. And they hauled the scabs that flocked in from all parts of the country to the several points along the line, and delivered them in good order to take the places vacated by the strikers; worked all round them and with them until they had mastered the details of their several duties; and having done this, the strike was at an end, and the 1300 craft unionists out of jobs. You will find them scattered all over the country.

Now were not these other craft unions scabbing on the telegraphers just as flagrantly as if they had stepped into their positions and discharged their duties? They were acting with the corporation against their union fellow workingmen, helping the corporation to defeat and crush them. Without their aid the corporation could not have succeeded. With their aid it was very easily done.

Is it possible that a craft unionist can see such an object lesson as this so plainly presented to him and still refuse to profit by it? Still close his eyes and, as it were, shut up his reason, and absolutely decline to see that this is suicidal policy, and that its fruit must always be disruption and disaster?

This world only respects as it is compelled to respect; and if you workingmen would be respected you must begin by respecting yourselves. You have had enough of this sort of experience. You have had more than enough of it here in Chicago.

Why didn't the steel trust annihilate the Amalgamated Steelworkers? Only two years ago they defeated them completely. The trust had its iron heel upon the neck of the Steelworkers' Union, and could have, had it chosen, completely crushed the life out of it. But Morgan was too wily. Schwab was too wise. They used to oppose trade unions. They don't oppose them any longer. They have discovered that a union can be turned the other way; that it can be made useful to them instead of being useful to the working class. Morgan now says he is in favor of trade unions, and Schwab agrees. They didn't crush out the Steelworkers' Union because they knew that another and a better one would spring from the ashes. They were perfectly willing the old craft union should grow up again and block the way to real union. (To be continued.)

SOCIALIST HALL
369 Pitt Street.
EVERY FRIDAY EVENING, DANCE.
LECTURE EVERY SUNDAY EVENING

OUR AIMS.

A business proposition for the working class!

One of the most stupendous uplifting and progressive undertakings ever launched by any class of individuals in the annals of history!

As to the business proposition, we propose to organise society for the benefit of the people that produce the necessities of society.

We propose to abolish the capitalist state and institute the industrial republic.

That will abolish classes.

By the abolition of classes there will be no class rule, class hatred and antagonism or slavery.

We do not propose to doctor the evil effects of the capitalist state, which produces all of the social ills. On the contrary, we propose to abolish the capitalist state and rear instead the industrial state.

We do not pose as reformers, to regulate or curb the trust or "special privilege." We propose to go to the source and capture the trust for the benefit of the people.

Then the million of slaves who are now simply merchandise, will become free men.

The foundation for this great achievement has already been laid. It rests firmly on the material interests of the working class, and is reflected in the political and the industrial organisations (in Australia the Australian Socialist Party and the Workers' Industrial Union.)

It is the duty of the working class to take hold and reorganise society to the end that all material resources that society needs to maintain it are under the control of the working class.

Then the incentive to work would be the full product of their toil, instead of as now, slaving for a mere pittance!

Now, working men and women, all it will cost you in this great enterprise to acquaint yourselves with the plans and specifications as set forth in the preamble and constitution of the S.L.P. and W.I.U., which will show you how to proceed. Knowledge being necessary, you obtain it (in Australia by securing the necessary literature by applying to the official organ of the A.S.P., the International Socialist. By subscribing to this paper you can also get into touch with the literature advertised in their columns.)

Wake up and connect yourself with the only revolutionary organisation.
—"Weekly People," N.Y.

EXTRACTS.

If men went forth in shrouds,
Instead of trappings gay,
How many to the battlefield
Would ever march away?
—M'landburgh Wilson.

Some men own nothing but the rags on their backs; yet they rail against "dividing up."

Theft is theft though clothed with all the ermine of legality and surrounded with all the halo of tradition.

Poor suffering humanity, shall we ever become intelligent enough to abolish private enterprise in the public service?—Yes, after a few more hard knocks.

Under capitalism industry is carried on without plan or system for the benefit of but few; under Socialism industry will be carried on scientifically for the benefit of all.

Our shop has its "aristocracy of labor," but they have to ring up the time clock just as early and as late as all of us. We all look alike in the eyes of the boss; we are all geese to be plucked.

The real patriot is the man who is dissatisfied with existing conditions and struggles against all odds for better things.

My vote is the evidence as to whether I am a partner or not to the brutal selfish system that exploits the weak and helpless.

To ignore the economic problem stamps a man a coward; to ridicule it stamps

A.S.P.

NEWS AND NOTES.

CENTRAL EXECUTIVE.

Branch Secretaries will please note that Party Stamps for 1918 are on the Press, and will be ready for distribution.

Any Secretary having any of the 1917 issue on hand at the close of the year should return them to headquarters, and they will receive the equivalent value in the new issue. The next meeting of the Central Executive will be held on Saturday, 29th, and all delegates should make a point of being present.

A. S. REARDON,
General Secretary.

The Australian Socialist Party.

PRINCIPLES AND POLICY.

Objective.

The Social ownership and control of the means of production and distribution.

Statement of Principles.

The present form of Society rests on private ownership of the land and the machinery (tools) of production. The owners of most of the land and machinery of production constitute what is economically known as the capitalist class. Hence the use of the term, "The capitalist form of society."

This form of ownership divides society in all countries into two distinct and opposing classes—the capitalist class and the working class.

The working class produces all the wealth of society, whilst it only receives sufficient to enable it to carry on production (i.e. a living wage). The rest of the wealth is appropriated by the capitalist class, and is known as surplus value.

Thus a conflict of interests is set up over the division of this wealth, each class striving to obtain possession of a greater portion. This conflict of interests begets a never-ceasing struggle known as the class war, some section or other of the working class being ever engaged in actual conflict.

Political Action and the State.

The struggle forces the workers to organise on the industrial field. But this organisation inevitably produces political consequences.

The State, that combination of legal, judicial and coercive forces, which is directed by parliament (the executive of the capitalist system), is the weapon with which the capitalist class defeats the workers on the industrial field. Finding themselves in conflict with the State, the workers are forced to find political expression for their economic organisations.

Inasmuch as industrial action produces its political reflex, the A.S.P. recognises the use of revolutionary political action on the above basis, as distinct from the palliative-mongering parliamentarism of non-revolutionary parties, to be essential to the complete overthrow of the capitalist system.

Political action then is only of value to the working-class, so far as it truly reflects its organised industrial power.

As to Unionism.

The A.S.P. aims and declares for Industrial Unionism as against craft or sectional unionism, for whereas the specialisation of the processes of production, the invention of machinery, and the concentration of ownership into fewer and fewer hands, makes craft unionism unable to cope with this economic development, and ever growing power of the emprise in the evolution of capitalist production, i.e., the organised labor expressions of lower forms of tools, the A.S.P. therefore declares that to-day this organisation has outlived its usefulness, and has created crafts and sections amongst the working class in the same industry, and this contradiction in industrial development allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set in the same industry, and industry against industry, thereby defeating one another when waging war against the encroachments of the capitalist class, with their superior and higher developed organisations. And in view of this economic development the working class must organise in such a manner as will correspond to the development of the tools of production.

The A.S.P. therefore affirms that industrial unionism in contradistinction to craft unionism is that form of organisation which is based upon the recognition of the class struggle, and through which all its members in one industry or in all industries, if necessary, can act as a unit on the industrial field.

The A.S.P. therefore endorses the 1916 preamble of the W.I.U.

him a fool; to antagonise it stamps him a villain.

Craft unionism is the voice of yesterday; industrial unionism is the voice of to-day and the future.

Life.

In a stumbling row they come and go,
And are lost in the bleak graves' yawning maw,
'Tis a curious place, for this world is based

On the law of fear, and the fear of law.
—A. Smith, Idaho.

TO UNATTACHED SUPPORTERS

Whosoever you are, if you believe in Scientific Socialism, you must recognise the need for organisation. Why not set a good example to the workers whom you come in contact with, and whom we know you try to educate, by joining up with the A.S.P.

If there is no BRANCH in your locality, you can become a MEMBER A.S.P. LARGE, and thus become a REAL LIVE WIRE.

For further information, drop a line to the General Secretary, A.S.P., 115 Goulburn Street, Sydney.

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

Any branch desiring matter published under the above heading, should write clearly what is needed, and forward same to this office.

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All rebels making their way to the "Hill" will receive a welcome at the above address.

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Hall: 369 Pitt St., City.
Library for members.
Lecture every Sunday evening.
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Business meeting every alternate Thursday evening.
Dance every Friday evening.

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IMPORTANT.

When ordering literature it is well to add the cost of registration (3d.). This is necessary to guarantee delivery.

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Revolutionary Unionism

Speech Delivered by Eugene V. Debs at
Chicago, November 25, 1905.

(CONTINUED FROM LAST ISSUE).

You have had a machinists' strike here in Chicago. You are well aware of this without my telling you. There is something pathetic to me about every strike.

I have said, and say again, that no strike was ever lost; that it has always been worth all it cost. An essential part of a workingman's education is the defeat he encounters. The strikes he loses are the only ones he really wins.

I am heartily glad for myself that I lost the strike. It is the best thing that ever happened to me. I lost the strike of the past, but I may win the strike of the future.

I am a discredited labor leader, but I have good staying qualities. The very moment the capitalist press credits me with being a wise labor leader, I will invite you to investigate me upon the charge of treason. I am discredited by the capitalist simply because I am true to his victim. I don't want his favors. I do not court his approbation. I would not have it. I can't afford it. If I had his respect it would be at the price of my own.

I don't care anything about what is called public respect. I know precisely what that means. It is but the reflex of the interests of the capitalist class. As between the respect of the public and my own, I prefer my own; and I am going to keep it until I can have both.

When I pick up a capitalist newspaper and read a eulogy of some labor leader, I know that that leader has at least two afflictions; the one is mental weakness and the other is moral cowardice—and they go together. Put it down that when the capitalist who is exploiting you credits your leader with being safe and conservative and wise, that leader is not serving you. And if you take exception to that statement, just ask me to prove it.

The rank and file of all unions, barring their ignorance, are all right. The working class as a whole is all right. Most of them are misguided, and stand in their own light.

It is sometimes necessary that we offend you and even shock you, that you may understand that we are your friends and not your enemies. And if we are against your unions it is because we are for you. We know that you have paid your dues into them for years and that you are animated by a spirit of misdirected loyalty to those unions.

I can remember that it was not a very easy matter for me to give up the union in which I had spent my boyhood and all the years of my young manhood. I remember that I felt there was something in it in the nature of a sacrifice, and yet I had to make it in the interests of the larger duty that I owed to myself and my class.

Let me say to you, if you are a craft unionist, that infinitely greater than your loyalty to your craft is your loyalty to the working class as a whole. No craft union can fight this great battle successfully alone. The craft is a part, a part only, of the great body of the working class. And the time has come for this class, numerically overwhelmingly in the majority, to follow in one respect at least the example of its capitalist masters and unite as a whole.

In this barbarous competitive struggle in which we are engaged, the workers, the millions, are fighting each other to sell themselves into slavery; the middle class are fighting each other to get enough trade to keep soul and body together, and the professional class are fighting each other like savages for practice. And this is called civilisation? What a mockery! What a sham! There is no civilisation.

To-day there is nothing so easily produced as wealth. The whole earth consists of raw materials; and in every breath of nature, in sunshine and in shower, hidden everywhere, are the subtle forces that may, by the touch of the hand of labor, be set into operation to transmute these

raw materials into wealth, the finished products, in all their multiplied forms and in opulent abundance for all. The merest child can press a button that will set in operation a forest of machinery and produce wealth enough for a community.

Whatever may be said of the ignorant, barbarous past, there is no excuse for poverty to-day. And yet it is the scourge of the race. It is the Nemesis of capitalist civilisation. Ten millions, one-eighth of our whole population, are in a state of chronic poverty. Three millions of these have been sunk to unresisting pauperism. The whole working class is in a sadly dependent state, and even the most favored wage-worker is left suspended by a single thread. He does not know what hour a machine may be invented to make his trade useless, displace him and throw him into the increasing army of the unemployed.

And how does labor live to-day? Here in Chicago you may walk along a certain boulevard, say Eighteenth Street, and you will find it lined with magnificent palaces. Beyond that you will find a larger district where the still complacent middle class abide. Beyond that is a very much larger territory where the working class exist; and still beyond that, to complete the circle, you see the red lights flickering in the distance.

Prostitution is a part, a necessary part, of capitalist society. The department store empties in the slums.

I have been here enough to know that when the daughter of a workingman is obliged to go up the street to look for employment, when she is 14 or 15 years of age, and ought to be in the care and keeping of a loving mother, and have all of the advantages that our civilisation makes possible for all—when she is forced to go to a department store, to one of those capitalist emporiums, and there find a place, if she can, and work for a wage of 3 dols. a week, and have to obey a code of cast-iron regulations, appear tidily and neatly dressed, and be subject to a thousand temptations daily, and then takes a misstep, the first, as she is more than apt to do, especially if she has no home in any decent sense of that term—the very instant this is added to her poverty, she is doomed—damned. All the doors of capitalist society are closed in her face. The coals of contumely are poured upon her head. There is for her no redemption, and she takes the next step, and the next until at last she ends a disgraceful career in a brothel hell.

This may be your child. And if you are a workingman, and this should fall to the lot of the innocent blue-eyed daughter that you love more than you do your own life—I want you to realise that if such a horror be written in the book of fate, that you are responsible for it, if you use or misuse your power to perpetuate the capitalist system and working class slavery.

You can change this condition—not to-morrow, not next week, nor next year; but in the meantime the next time to changing it is making up your mind that it shall be changed. That is what we Industrial Unionists have done. And so there has come to us a new state of mind, and in our hearts there is the joy of service and the serenity of triumph.

We are united and we cannot be disunited. We cannot be stampeded. We know that we are confronted by ten thousand difficulties. We know that all the powers of capitalism are to be arrayed against us. But were these obstacles multiplied by a million, it would simply have the effect of multiplying our determination by a million, to overcome them all. And so we are organising and appealing to you.

The workingman to-day does not understand his industrial relation to his fellow workers. He has never been correlated with others in the same industry. He has mechanically done his part. He has simply been a cog, with little reference to, or knowledge of, the rest of the cogs. Now, we teach him to hold up his head and look over the whole mechanism. If he is employed in a certain plant, as an Industrial Unionist, his eyes are open. He takes a survey of the entire productive mechanism, and he understands his part in it, and his relation to every other worker in that industry. The very instant he does that he is buoyed by a fresh hope and thrilled with a new inspiration. He becomes a larger man. He begins to feel like a collective son of toil.

Then he and his fellows study to fit themselves to take control of this productive mechanism when it shall be transferred from the idle capitalist to the workers to whom it rightfully belongs.

In every mill and every factory, every mine and every quarry, every railroad and every shop, everywhere the workers, enlightened, understanding their

A. S. P.

NEWS AND NOTES.

SYDNEY BRANCH.

All members of the above branch are requested to attend the business meeting which will be held on January 17th, at 8 p.m. sharp. The business is very important, so all members should make sure of attending.

SUBS. RECEIVED.

E. Rostrom, 2s; A. Lukmattis, 4s; J. Kresukaitis, 4s; D. Bourke, 1s; H. Lynch, 1s; P. Jones, 1s; J. Wilson, 2s; A. Samio, 2s; Mrs. McGeorge, 2s; T. Burgess, 1s; K. Lesslie, 4s; S. Brown, 1s; F. Woodtly, 4s; R. Gorringer, 2s; Lusebrink, 1s; Olsen, 2s; E. B. Rothe, 4s.

PRESS FUND.

W. H. B., 5s; Bankstown Anti-Con. League, £2s; St. George A.C.L., 10s; J. G., 5s; H. Deafer, 10s; V. Rowan, 5s; Langdon, 1s; Enthusiastic, 4s; St. George A.C.L., £1.

The Australian Socialist Party.

PRINCIPLES AND POLICY.

Objective.

The Social ownership and control of the means of production and distribution.

Statement of Principles.

The present form of Society rests on private ownership of the land and the machinery (tools) of production.

The owners of most of the land and machinery of production constitute what is economically known as the capitalist class. Hence the use of the term, "The capitalist form of society."

This form of ownership divides society in all countries into two distinct and opposing classes—the capitalist class and the working class.

The working class produces all the wealth of society, whilst it only receives sufficient to enable it to carry on production (i.e. a living wage). The rest of the wealth is appropriated by the capitalist class, and is known as surplus value.

Thus a conflict of interests is set up over the division of this wealth, each class striving to obtain possession of a greater portion. This conflict of interests begets a never-ceasing struggle known as the class war, some section or other of the working class being ever engaged in actual conflict.

Political Action and the State.

The struggle forces the workers to organise on the industrial field. But this organisation inevitably produces political consequences.

The State, that combination of legal, judicial and coercive forces, which is directed by parliament (the executive of the capitalist system), is the weapon with which the capitalist class defeats the workers on the industrial field. Finding themselves in conflict with the State, the workers are forced to find political expression for their economic organisations.

Inasmuch as industrial action produces its political reflex, the A.S.P. recognises the use of revolutionary political action on the above basis, as distinct from the palliative-mongering parliamentarism of non-revolutionary parties, to be essential to the complete overthrow of the capitalist system.

Political action then is only of value to the working-class, so far as it truly reflects its organised industrial power.

As to Unionism.

The A.S.P. aims and declares for Industrial Unionism as against craft or sectional unionism, for whereas the specialisation of the processes of production, the invention of machinery, and the concentration of ownership into fewer and fewer hands, makes craft unionism unable to cope with this economic development, and ever growing power of the emprise in the evolution of capitalist production, i.e., the organised labor expressions of lower forms of tools, the A.S.P. therefore declares that to-day this organisation has outlived its usefulness, and has created crafts and sections amongst the working class in the same industry, and this contradiction in industrial development allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set in the same industry, and industry against industry, thereby defeating one another when waging war against the encroachments of the capitalist class, with their superior and higher developed organisations. And in view of this economic development the working class must organise in such a manner as will correspond to the development of the tools of production.

The A.S.P. therefore affirms that industrial unionism in contradistinction to craft unionism is that form of organisation which is based upon the recognition of the class struggle, and through which all its members in one industry or in all industries, if necessary, can act as a unit on the industrial field.

The A.S.P. therefore endorses the 1916 preamble of the W.I.U.

self-interest, are correlating themselves in the industrial economic mechanism. They are developing their industrial consciousness, their economic and political power; and when the revolution comes, they will be prepared to take possession and assume the control of every industry. With the education that they will have received in the Industrial Workers, they will be drilled and disciplined, trained and fitted for Industrial Mastery and Social Freedom.

TO UNATTACHED SUPPORTERS

Whosoever you are, if you believe in Scientific Socialism, you must recognise the need for organisation. Why not set a good example to the workers whom you come in contact with, and whom we know you try to educate, by joining up with the A.S.P.

If there is no BRANCH in your locality, you can become a MEMBER AT LARGE, and thus become a REAL LIVE WIRE.

For further information, drop a line to the General Secretary, A.S.P., 115 Goulburn Street, Sydney.

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

Any branch desiring matter published under the above heading, should write clearly what is needed, and forward same to this office.

BROKEN HILL.

Socialist Hall, Sulphide St.

All rebels making their way to the "Hill" will receive a welcome at the above address.

MELBOURNE BRANCH.

17 Victoria St., Melbourne.

Library and Reading Room for members. Lectures held every Sunday Evening.

Economic Class every Wednesday evening. Visitors welcomed.

MT. LARAMIE.

Secretary, Chas. Macdonald, Mt. Laramie, via Gladstone.

NEWTOWN BRANCH.

Hall: Haite's Arcade, King St., Newtown.

Library for Members.

Business meeting held alternate Thursday evening.

SYDNEY BRANCH.

Hall: 369 Pitt St., City.

Library for members.

Lecture every Sunday evening.

Debating class held every Monday evening.

Business meeting every alternate Thursday evening.

Dance every Friday evening.

AUSTRALASIAN SOCIALIST PARTY LITERATURE DEPARTMENT.

Ancient Society—Lewis H. Morgan; cloth, 6/-; posted, 6/3.

Britain for the British—R. Blatchford; paper cover, 6d.; posted, 7d.

Capital—Karl Marx; 3 vols., 8/- each; posted, 8/6.

Charles Darwin and Karl Marx—E. Aveling; paper, 3d.; posted, 4d.

Economic Discontent—Father T. J. Hagerty; paper, 2d.; posted, 3d.

Economics of Socialism—H. M. Hyndman; cloth, 3/6; posted, 3/9.

Human Slaughter House—W. Lammont; paper, 1/6; posted, 1/8.

Introduction to Socialism—N. A. Richardson; paper, 3d.; posted, 4d.

Love's Coming of Age—E. Carpenter; cloth, 1/6; posted, 1/8.

Landmarks of Scientific Socialism—Engels; cloth, 4/-.

Merrie England—R. Blatchford; paper, 6d.; posted, 7d.

Mutual Aid—P. Kropotkin; paper, 1/6; posted, 1/8.

New Socialism, The—R. R. LaMonte; paper, 6d.; posted, 7d.

Put up the Sword—Adela Pankhurst; paper, 2/6; posted, 2/9.

Positive School of Criminology—Enrico Ferri; cloth, 2/-; posted, 2/2.

Principles of Scientific Socialism—Rev. Vaie; paper, 1/-; posted, 1/1.

Right to be Lazy—P. Lafargue; paper, 6d.; posted, 7d.

Socialism the Goal of Civilisation—paper, 2d.; posted, 3d.

IMPORTANT.

When ordering literature it is well to add the cost of registration (3d.). This is necessary to guarantee delivery.

Printed and Published by William Joseph Thomas, at 115 Goulburn Street, Sydney, for the Australian Socialist Party.

SOCIALIST HALL

369 Pitt Street.

EVERY FRIDAY EVENING, DANCE.

LECTURE EVERY SUNDAY EVENING